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A NINETEENTH
ADDRESS
TO THE
FREE-CITIZENS
AND
FREE-HOLDERS
OF THE
CITY of *DUBLIN.*



Lucas (Charles) M.P.
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THE

RESEARCH

AND

REPORT



CITY OF DUBLIN



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A NINETEENTH ADDRESS, &c.

BRETHREN and FELLOW-SUBJECTS.

HAVING laid before You, the best sketches, that time and Opportunity would permit me to draw, of the Constitution of our Country and City ; the Institution, Office and Duty of the chief Magistrates, Legislators and Ministers of the State, and of the City ; with the Rights, Privileges, and respective Duties of Subjects in general, of Citizens in particular ; together with the Breaches made in the Constitution of the City and Nation, and by whom perpetrated ; it is time, I should now draw to a Conclusion, and offer to your Consideration the Means of Redress and Reparation.

BUT, first let me trouble You, with a brief Recapitulation of what I have already offered on these Subjects.

TOUCHED with a tender Sense of the melancholy State of your City, and the Necessity, as well, as Duty, by which You were bound to choose well qualified Members to represent You, and in You, the whole Kingdom, in Parlemtent ; as soon, as a Vacancy happened, I rung the *Alarm Bell*, and in a short *Address*, of the 18th of *August* 1748, moved You, on the Principles of our Constitution, to caution in, and just Deliberation on, Your Choice.

I DETERMINED to continue a Course of Addresses of this kind ; as I judged this a critical occasion of putting You in a Method of making one great Effort for the Restoration of the Rights and Liberties of my Fellow Subjects and Fellow-Citizens, most notoriously invaded, most perfidiously violate ; and, as I was well convinced You wanted only the proper Means and Op-

portunity of proving yourselves, truly loyal Subjects and truly faithful and free Citizens.

BEFORE I was able to get another to the Prefs, You were pleased to call me to a Task, in which, nothing but your Sollicitations and Commands, added to the strongest Love for my Country, and the highest Opinion of your most generous and virtuous Intentions, could possibly prompt me to imbarque.

ON the 27th of the same Month, I published my *Second Address* to You. In this, I endeavored briefly to set forth the Duty of a Man, as a Member of Civil Society; and the Character of the good and perfect Free-man. I made an Apology for my declaring myself a *Candidate* for so great and so important a Trust. I paid so great Deference, to the Judgement, and free Election of the Citizens of *Dublin*, that I declared, *that my offering my self a Candidate, was only to shew mine Intention and desire to serve the sinking Cause of Liberty and my Country; however weak and insufficient you may find me and, I might have added, in pure respect to the public entreaties; as I did, that from the same Motives, incapable as I am of the Task; if the Citizens of Dublin should command me, on any just Emergency to lead an Army for them, I should certainly think it my Duty to obey them.* I beg leave thus to repeat this Sentence, because a certain great Man, who prudently chooses to lye masked in his Villainy, out of the abundant Malignity of a corrupt Heart, is pleased to wrest and pervert my meaning.

I HAVE declared my Regard to a *free Election* and my Contempt and Detestation of all, the slightest Degrees of, *sinister Influence*; and shewed, that a *Vote* is not a *private Property*, but a *public Trust*, reposed in every individual for the Common good of the whole Society.

IN order to enable You to elect upon true Principles, I engaged to lay open to your view some just sketches of the Constitution of the Nation and City, traced out from the *original Foundation* of our *Policy*, by the best Authorities of History and Laws; and engaged to lay myself open to Contradiction, or Reproof, by Subscribing my Name to every Address on this Subject; declaring

declaring my self open to Conviction, and as ready to retract *Error*, as to advance *Truth*. I gave some rude sketches of the Abuses of the *Aldermen*, with Intent to shew their Incapacity and Disqualification for the great and important Office of REPRESENTATIVES for a City, that was to contend with the *Board*, for her Estate, and Revenues, Liberties and Franchises. And I shewed by what means men became intituled to their Freedom of the City; and offered some hints for preserving their Sense, Virtue, and Freedom.

I WAS obstructed in this Course, which I had promised to pursue, by sundry illicit Artifices, used by the *Aldermen* in general, particularly their *Candidate*, for cajoling the Citizens and extorting their Votes. They went together in parties through the Streets and Lanes of the Town, using all sorts of Influence and Authority to compell the Citizens to promise and engage to vote for the *Candidate Alderman*, without consulting their Judgement. For these base Purposes, the Influence of *Benefactors, Customers, Creditors, Land-lords, Aldermen* and even of *Lords of Parliament*; though probably as much without the Knowledge of any of the later, as contrary to express Law; was let loose on the *Voters*, and most artfully plied by the *Aldermen* and their *Emissaries*. Not content with this, the old latent party Spirit of Sir CON's Administration was to be conjured on the Stage. The *Remnant* of the old *Leaven* was to be stirred up, and fired to make another furious Effort, for the late exploded Cause. *Laics* were not alone judged Sufficient, but old *Mother Church* was, as usual, to be prostituted to serve *Secular* Ends. Those few surviving *Priests*, who had manifested their Religion, by their blind *Biggotry*, and furious *Party Zeal*, at the Head of *Mobs*, with *Clubs* in their *Hands*, *Laurels* in their *Hats*, *Satan* and the *Pretender* in their *Hearts*, and took the *Church* in their *Mouths*, to silence all Opposition; again arose ready to cry out *the Craft is in danger, great is Diana of the Ephesians*. All those of this cast arose, confederated and conspired against LIBERTY and her Friends. They insisted their *Clerks* and other Dependants, with

all they could any way influence in the Cause, preached up Sir Samuel Cooke, as a true Son of the Church, the Counterpart of his dear good Father; and abused his Opponents, as furious *Fanatics*, blind *Papists*, foolish *Jacobites*, perjured *Williamites*, violent *Oliverians*, silly *Tories*, rank *Whigs*, *Fools*, *Madmen*, or any thing, as party and occasion offered.

By these infamous Measures, which were making no small Progress in corrupting and enslaving the Minds of the People; I was drove, out of mine intended Course, to expose the extolled Administration of the *Ministry* and *Magistrates* of the four last Years of Queen Anne, in this City, particularly that of the chief Tool of the *Faction*, the late Sir Samuel Cooke, Knight and Alderman of this City. I laid open the chief Measures of this *Ministry* and their Creatures, in a *third Address* to You, of the 5th of September, 1748. And, though I did this, upon the Principles of *DIVINE* and *human* Laws, visiting the *Sins* of the *Fathers* upon the *Children* of *Disobedience* for some Generations, and stripping the *Children* of *Rebels*, or *Traitors* of the means of injuring the Constitution; yet, has it raised the Indignation and Fury of the *Faction* against me, so violently, that it is a doubt, whether the busy *Devil* will ever be laid. But, You were informed of important Truths, to which most of You were then Strangers; and You were fore-warned and fore-armed against Stratagems and Dangers, which You might not otherwise have escaped; so, mine Ends were fully answered, with Regard to You, however injurious it might have turned out with regard to my self.

On the fiveteenth of September, I published a *third Address* to You, with intent to explaine and reconcile the *Powers* and *Prerogatives* of those intrusted to govern, with the *Freedom* and *Privileges* of those to be governed. In this, I have briefly laid down the Relation Man bears to Man, in a *State*, of *Nature*, and the stricter Connection of Men to each other in regular Civil Societies. I have pointed out the original Formation, or Institution and the End of Civil Society in general,

that

that of *Great Britain*, which is the same of that of *Ireland*, in particular. I have made out the ORIGINAL COMPACT between the *Governors* and *Governed*, and laid down the Heads of the ORIGINAL, ESSENTIAL and INVARIABLE PRINCIPLES of our Government, and demonstrated the Common BIRTH-RIGHT, the INDEFEASABLE, HEREDITARY PRIVILEGES of the PEOPLE, which are never to be invaded, varied, or violated, by KING, LEGISLATURE, or PEOPLE.

I HAVE added some Apology for my *third Address*, to which some Men took exceptions, and gave an Account of the remarkable Proceedings of the *Aldermen* against me, in the *Guild-Hall*, the first time I addressed that Corporation, as a *Candidate*; with some *Queries* of the Causes of such Procedure.

By this time, I met with the *British FREE-HOLDER'S Political Catechism*; and finding, it contained many useful Informations touching the Rights of the Subject and the *Duty* of *Electors*, I thought it might be conducive to your Knowledge, and the *Common Cause* of Liberty to publish it; which I did with a short Introduction, or *Preface*, with some of the Principle Qualifications of a *Member of Parliament*, taken from *Coke's Institutes*.

ON the 21st of *October* following, I published my *Fifth Address* to You; in which I have endeavored to lay down the *Institution*, *Office* and *Duty* of the *Legislature*. I have recited all the different Forms and Modes of Government, and shewn how and for what Reasons ours has the Pre-eminence of all others known in the Universe. I have explained the Power, Authority, Dignity, Office and Duty of the *Supreme Magistrate*, the HEAD of our great Community, and shewn the End and the Intent of the Institution and of the Prerogatives, as they are set forth and established by our Laws; by which it appears, that he is the *first* of the *three Estates* in the *Legislature*, and that his Power is in no Instance *absolute* or *unlimited*, his Office being only *fiduciary* and *executive*, Subject to the *directive*, if not the *executive*, Power of the Laws.

I HAVE attempted an Apology for the seeming Novelty of this Doctrine, shewn the Advantages to the King and People, that duly observed it, and the fatal Consequences, that attended to both, upon the Neglect or Breach of these FUNDAMENTAL LAWS. I have explained the Words, *Whig* and *Tory*, and offered more expressive Words, which will eternally hold their Force, CONSTITUTIONISTS and ANTICONSTITUTIONISTS, as Substitutes.

I HAVE applauded the strong Sentiments of Liberty, manifest in the Conduct of the Citizens; and exhorted them to a steady Perseverance, upon the Principles of our Constitution.

FINDING some weak Minds staggering at the View I gave of the *Prerogatives* of the Prince; on the 29th of *October*, instead of proceeding upon the explanation of the *second* and *third Estate*, as I proposed, I gave the History of the several *Charters* or *Statutes* declaratory of the LIBERTIES of the Subject, and, in a *Sixth Address*, published a correct Edition of an exact Translation of King *John's* MAGNA CHARTA.

FROM this, I have drawn the Freedom of the Subject, and the Necessity of keeping up an exact Balance of Power, between the King and People; and shewed, that it is as inconsistent with the Subjects *Allegiance* to suffer the King or his Ministers to violate, or intrench upon, the *Sacred Rights* and *Privileges* of the *People*, as for the *People* to oppose and invade the *legal Prerogatives* of the *Prince*. And, that both are alike repugnant to the Laws and opposite to, and destructive of the Ends of the Institution of *King* and *Legislature*; the *Health* and good *Government* of the COMMON-WEALTH.

HAVING thus endeavored to explain the *first*, or *Monarchical Estate* in our Government, I considered the *second*, or *Aristocratical Estate*. And in a *Seventh Address*, published on the 17th of *November*, I gave some historical Relations of the ancient *British*, *Saxon*, or *English* Councils, by which it appears, that the
Barons,

Barons, or *Peers* alone were not at any time deemed sufficient to compose a general *National Council*, in which *Laws* were made, or *Subsidies*, *Aids*, or *Taxes* granted: That all Kings, even he, that is falsely distinguished, by the Titule of, *Conqueror*, *William* the first, was obliged to submit to the Power and Authority of the *Common Council*, or *Parlement*, which consisted of *Nobles*, or *Peers*, *Bishops*, and *Commons*, or Representatives of the *People*: And what was the original Power and Privileges of the Members of *Parlement*.

IN this, I have given an Account of the *Saxon Nobility*, and the *Saxon Freemen*, of which the Councils were composed; of the Difficulty of ascertaining the Number, and of the popular Confusion, that must have attended such Multitudes; which occasioned the Institution of a certain *legal Qualification* for the *Nobility*, and the Election and Appointment of a certain Number of *Delegates*, or Representatives from the Body of the *People*.

THE constituent Parts of our modern *National Councils*, since the *Norman Invasion*, called, *Parlements*, are set forth; as is, likewise their sitting together originally, and their separation into three different States, as at present, making, but one *Body-Politic*, Representative of all Classes of Men in the Realm.

I HAVE given the History of antient and modern *Peerage*; by which it appears, that every *Lord* was originally supposed to be, not only what is now contended for, an *hereditary Counsellor* to the *Crown*, but a *Guardian* and *Trustee* in the *Great Council*, for his *Barony*. I have set forth the different Kinds, or Classes of *Peers*, with the Privileges of *Peerage*; and have shewn, that, originally, *Peers* were created by *Acts of Parlement*, and seldom or never otherwise, before the Reign of *Henry VII.* By whom the *sole Peer-creating Power* was first *arbitrarily* assumed, and upon what Occasion; and have pointed out the Inconveniencies and Dangers, that have and may attend this extraordinary Assumption of Power.

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I HAVE laid down the present Constituent Parts of the HOUSE of PEERS; the Office, Honor, Dignity and Privileges of *Peers*; in what they differ from those of *Commoners*; the Power, Authority, and Privilege of the *House*; the Honor to be paid to *Lords*, and why; the Method of making a true Estimate of Titles of Honor; and of becoming truly honorable.

IN mine *Eighth Address*, published the 30th of November, I considered the *third*, or *democratical Estate* in our civil Constitution; and have set forth, the Antiquity and Power of the *Commons*, in the Legislature; their Election and Convention by the King's *Writ*; by which an *Epitome* of our Government appears, in the necessary conjunction of the *Commons*, with the *King* and the *Lords* to make an *Act of Parliament*: That, by this *Writ*, it appears, that by the primitive Institution, the HOUSE of COMMONS is to consist of Men of three different Estates, or Classes, in the *Common Wealth*; *Knights* for *Counties*, *Citizens* for *Cities*, and *Burgesses*, or *Burgers* for *Boroughs*.

I HAVE endeavored to give a Definition of the Words, *Knights*, *Citizens* and *Burgesses* of Parliament; and to shew the necessary Character and Qualification of each; to shew who are not intitled to be represented in Parliament; and who may and who may not be chosen to serve in Parliament.

I HAVE demonstrated the *Commons* to be but *Servants* to their *Constituents*, from whom they are intitled to receive Wages; the Weight and Importance of the Trust; the Necessity of ELECTING upon *pure Principles*, free and faithful *Representatives* for the People; the manifest evil Consequences, which must inevitably follow *mercenary*, *corrupt* and *evil-influenced* Elections; the *legislative* and *judicative* Power of the HOUSE of COMMONS; that to be the GRAND INQUEST, or *Jury* of the Nation; to be the GRAND COUNCIL of the Nation; the Parliamentary *Privileges* of the *Commons*; the different Manners of passing Bills; the Wisdom and Happiness of such a *Balance* to the Power of the *Crown* and the *Peers*; the Power
vested

vested in the People of *instructing* their Representatives, and *demanding* their acting agreeable to the Sense and Interest of their *Constituents*; the *Commons* obliged to confer with their Constituents, upon all Extraordinary Occasions; their Obligation to preserve the Constitution in general in all Points; to give close and strict Attendance during the Session; to hold their Councils openly.

HAVING shewn the Beauty, Wisdom and Excellency of this most happy and inimitable Frame of Government; I exhorted my Brethren to the Preservation of it, by maintaining the *Freedom* and *Independency* of the *Elections* of the *Commons*.

I HAVE laid down the fatal Consequences of the *Ignorance*, *Supineness*, or *Corruption* of the *Electors*, and the best Incentives I could concisely offer, to prompt them to VIRTUE and LIBERTY.

HAVING done this, I come, in my *nineth Address*, published the 21st of *December*, to explaine the Power and Authority of the *three Estates*, separately described, when joined, in one *Body Politic*.

I HAVE given a general Definition of a *Body Politic*. I have shewn the uparalleled Excellency of the GREAT BODY POLITIC of the Realm. I have laid down the main Intent and End of it's Institution; the Manner of summoning, or convoking the Parlemtent; the Manner of their Proceedings; the Necessity of exercising and exerting the Parliamentary Power frequently, constantly; the difference between the End of the Institution of the *great* and *small Bodies Politic*; the Obligation on the *three Estates* to keep up most strictly and religiously to the Ends of their Institution, the FREEDOM and GOOD GOVERNMENT of the PEOPLE; for whom alone the *King*, *Lords* and *Commons* were constituted and ordained, and from whom, and for whom the *three Estates* derive all their Powers, *Prerogatives*, *Authorities* and *Privileges*, and hold them, only in *Trust*.

I HAVE briefly set forth the Business and Duty of Parlements, and the Extent and Limits of their legislative

lative and judicative Power, agreeable to these Principles. And have shewn, that our COMMON WEALTH knows no Superior under GOD, but the King, who is obliged to rule and govern the Subjects agreeable to the Laws, ordained by the COMMON CONSENT and FREE SUFFERANCE of the PEOPLE, or their *Representatives*, for the mutual and equal Good of the *whole Community*, and all it's Parts; and that no Member of the Community is or can be bound or governed by any other Laws, than such, as have or shall be established upon these Principles, by the *three Estates*, the KING, LORDS and COMMONS, *representing* the whole State of the COMMON WEALTH, in the MOST HIGH COURT OF PARLEMENT; the Importance of observing and enforcing these Principles; and the Danger of overturning our Constitution, by the Neglect or Non-observance of them; that the Security of the Public Liberties depends upon the *Sense, Virtue* and *Freedom* of our Parlements; that this is to be maintained by the *Freedom* and *Virtue* of the ELECTORS; the Advantages accruing from a Parlement chosen upon just Principles, and the Evils to be dreaded from such, as may be appointed by any Degree of *sinister Influence, Venality, or Corruption*; the Happiness of a State wherein, the Subject is to be governed by Laws of his own making, or approving; the Assurance, that they can not be enslaved, till they have chosen *weak, or wicked Legislators*.

I HAVE glanced at the various Means used, at different Times, to overturn our most happy and inimitable System of Government; and shewed, *Force* ever found unsuccessful; *Fraud* always practised with more Success; and, that, from which We are to dread the worst Consequences, the *packing, or corrupting Parlements*; the Evils to be dreaded from a *weak or wicked Legislature*; our Constitution *impaired, not over-thrown*; to be repaired by the Subjects asserting their own *Freedom* and *Independency*, by which they must ever Support the GREAT BULWARK of the *Public Liberties*, FREE ELECTIONS, made upon just Grounds and pure Principles.

I HAVE

I HAVE promised to expose some Acts of Parliament made contrary to the Principles of our Policy. And recommended to You, to consider the Incroachments formerly made, and hereafter to be dreaded and guarded against, notwithstanding the *Freedom, Virtue* and *Loyalty* of the present *Parlement*.

I HAVE given Cautions in trusting Men with Power, who act under the Influence of those, who have already, in any Respect, conspired against the Constitution of the Country; and pointed out the necessary Consequence of choosing such, to serve in Parliament; and those essential Qualifications, which alone should recommend Men to our Choice for that great and important Office; the Means of distinguishing *worthy* from *unworthy Candidates*, and an Exhortation to search out for the best, without confining your Views to the present.

HAVING laid down these rude, inconnected Sketches of our glorious Constitution, I have proceeded in a *Tenth Address*, published the 13th of *January*, to shew it's great and manifold Excellencies, and how far it is preferable to all the known Forms of Government in the Universe; as containing the Conveniences and Advantages of all other Systems of Policy, whether *monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical*, without any of their Inconveniences, or Disadvantages.

I HAVE then, endeavored to demonstrate, that this great and glorious Constitution is by every Principle of moral and human Law, the Constitution of *IRELAND*, as much, as it is that of *England, or Great-Britain*; that *IRELAND* by the original Compact, first entered into between *Henry II.* and revived between *John* and the People, was made a *free, independent, and complete KINGDOM*, separate and distinct from that of *England*, but falling in Process of Time under legal Subjection to the same King, under which, We still do, and hope to, continue; but, *free and independent* of the *British Legislature*: That We have a Parliament of our own, appointed and chosen upon the

the same Principles, and possessed of the same Powers, Authorities and Privileges, with Regard to this Kingdom, that the Parleмент of *Britain* has, or could have, with Respect to that Kingdom : That, in our Government, there can be no *Imperium in Imperio*, no *Kingdom*, no *Legislature*, *subject*, or *subordinate* to an other : That these Principles were observed by *Henry II.* and by *John* ; and that had *Richard the I.* had Issue, or *hereditary Right* been admitted to take Place, on his Death, *Ireland* might have continued under the sole and separate Dominion of the Descendents of *John* : That *John* became King of *England* and *Ireland*, two separate and distinct Kingdoms, and that both continued such, without any Pretence of making the one dependent on, *subject*, or *subordinate* to the Legislature of the other, for upwards of *four hundred Years* : The Means used by *John* and *Henry III.* for establishing a FREE PARLEMENT and other COURTS of JUSTICE, in *Ireland* : The Time and Manner, in which the *Parleмент* and *Courts* were established, and the *Laws* and *Constitutions*, *Customs*, *Manners* and *LIBERTIES* of *England*, were as firmly and solemnly, as possible, established, by the KING and PEOPLE, in *Ireland* ; without the least Intervention, or Interposition of the Parleмент of *England* : That We can produce as good Evidence for the Establishment of a *perfect*, *free Parleмент* in this Kingdom, as can be produced for that of *Britain* ; and that therefore no true and loyal Subject can suffer, or connive at an Incroachment on this SACRED RIGHT of the *People*, by any Person, or Power whatsoever.

I HAVE pointed out the evil Consequences of withholding the general Benefits of the established Laws from the *Natives* of this Kingdom, by weak, evil and corrupt Governors and Ministers ; the Time and Manner in which the first Invasion of our Parliamentary Rights and Privileges were made ; the Means, by which all the Statute Laws of *England* became of Force in *Ireland*, by an *Irish Act of Parleмент*. I have shewn, that no Law made in *England*, except such

such as was declaratory of the *Common Law*, which was the same in both Kingdoms; could be of Force in *Ireland*, without that Sanction; that these Arguments were deemed of full Force, by the uninfluenced Judges in *England*, in the Reign of *Richard III.* and *Henry VII.*; that *England* may with equal Reason and Justice, try Men by *Juries* in *England*, for *Facts* committed in *Ireland*, as bind the Subjects of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, by Laws, made in *England*, without their Consent; which is diametrically opposite to several *Charters* and *Statutes*, declaratory and confirmatory of the Liberties of *Ireland*.

I HAVE made it appear, that this modern *Solecism* in Government, subjugating *one Kingdom*, and *one Legislature* to an *other*, was utterly unknown and unconceived in former Ages; that otherwise, We should not, in such confused and perilous Times, as Parlements could not with Freedom and Safety sit here, have had the *Lords* and *Commons* of *Ireland*, as the only Persons under Heaven, who had a Right to make Laws for the People of this Kingdom; called, for these Purposes into *England*: Which was done in the Reigns of *Edward I.* and *EDWARD III.* And, if these Principles had not been established in the Reign of *Henry IV.* We should not have had an *Act* of *Parliament* passed in this Kingdom of the Tenth of this King's Reign, positively enacting, "That no Law, made in the *Parlement* of *England*, should be of Force in *Ireland*, till it was allowed and published by the Authority of the *Parlement* of *Ireland*." That *England* then pretended to no *Superiority* in Jurisdiction to *Ireland*, is hence, made pretty evident: That the *Freedom* and *Independence* of our *Parlement* was too sacred to be invaded, or violated, by the most arbitrary Kings, or sacrilegious Tyrants, that ever ruled these Nations; that the close Connection and firm Union of the two Kingdoms, under one common HEAD, and the like System of Laws and the same Form of Government, has given the two Nations one common Interest, mutual, inseparable and unalterable; that

that they must stand and fall together; that each must be effected by the good and evil Fortune of the other; that it is the true Interest and indispensable Duty of *Great Britain and Ireland*, to look upon each other in this Light; that, though from their Situations, as *Islands*, and their different Establishments, they must be under separate and distinct Governments; they should not attempt to prejudice the Liberties of each other, by any unjust Contests for any *Superiority* to the other, in Jurisdiction, or Legislature, which must ever be as impolitic in them, as for either *House of Parliament*, in the same Kingdom, to oppose it self to the other; or for the right Hand to oppress the left, merely because it was by Accident stronger; as neither can be safe, or secure, when the other is injured, or weakened; nor can the one subsist in *Freedom and Vigor*, when the other is cut off, or destroyed: That the Constitution of *Ireland*, here asserted, was acknowledged, approved and confirmed by *Henry VIII. Philip and Mary, ELIZABETH the GREAT, James I. Charles II. and WILLIAM and MARY* of happy Memory: That, though the several *English Acts of Recognition* of the Titules of these Princes to the Throne, positively name and include *Ireland*; yet, the Sanction of an *Irish Act* was justly reckoned absolutely necessary for the Establishment of their *regal Power* in *Ireland*, which was all along deemed by *English and Irish*, a *Kingdom, perfect and complete* within it self, possessed of all the *Powers, Privileges, Authorities, Legislature and Jurisdiction*, appertaining to, or requisite for an *absolute, free and independent State*, or Common Wealth, which can by Law, be subject, or subordinate to no *Power, Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate* upon Earth, but that of *it's own People*, or their *free and lawful Representatives*, in their *KING, LORDS and COMMONS in full Parliament*: That this and all the premised Principles are confirmed by the *Act of Faculties* passed the 28th of *Henry VIII.* which makes it criminal and penal in any Man, to pay any Obedience to any Legislature, but that of the
Nation:

Nation: That no Man can serve two Masters, properly and justly; and, that it is as impossible to serve two different Legislatures, especially if they set up opposite Interests and Principles, and impose different Commands; that none can suppose *Ireland* capable of standing under such Circumstances, or can think of imposing them, who is not a *Stranger*, an *Enemy* to the *Principles* of *Liberty*, or blinded with *Perverseness*, or *Prejudice*.

I HAVE confessed, that *Ireland* owes the *British* Parlemtent, the greatest *Honor* and *Respect*, next to her own; because it is the *great Council* of our *KING* for his *British Dominions*, and our *MOTHER COUNTRY*; but, that We owe it no *Subjection*, or *Obedience*; and can pay it none without a Breach of the most solemn Engagements and Obligations to the Constitution and Legislature of our own Country, to the due Observance of which, We are first, and indispensably, bound.

I HAVE endeavored to account for the Decay of Parliamentary Governments, once universal in *Europe*; and to shew that it was by the corrupting the Parlements of *England*, that their Legislature first incroached upon the *British Liberties*, and then invaded those of *Ireland*; that all the Parlements, which thus invaded, or gave up our Rights, were of the *corrupt*, or *slavish Stamp*; and that it is not to be imagined, that any *sensible*, *free* and *virtuous Parlemtent*, as the present, should suffer so many *unjust*, *cruel* and *oppressive Acts* of the illicit Power of *infamous*, *prostituted Parlements*, to stand so many lasting Reproaches to a Government, founded on *Reason* and *Liberty*, so many lasting Blemishes to the *British Name*.

I HAVE reminded the *Public*, that *Liberty* was not inherent to any particular Soil, or Climate; that it had taken it's Revolution through the Globe; that such as now appeared most destitute of it, once possessed it as fully, as *Britain* can boast; but, upon abusing, lost it; and ask, can *England* expect a better Fate? Her present Freedom and Grandeur had it's Com-

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mencement;

mencement ; she was once poor, and labored under a most contemptible and wretched *Vassalage* ; that LIBERTY alone raised her to her present Pitch of Glory ; and that when she loses it, she must fall to her primitive *Poverty* and *Slavery*. And, that if the corrupt and iniquitous Practices of a late abandoned, Profligate *Minister* of *Britain* had continued, she must be reduced to a most deplorable *State* ; that she is not absolutely out of Danger of the baneful Effects of the like destructive Courses, and that common *Policy*, as well, as a just *Sense* of *Justice*, *Virtue*, *Religion* and *Laws*, should move the *English*, not only to suffer Us to exercise and enjoy our *natural* and *legal Freedom* and *Rights*, which are, in all *Respects*, consistent and perfectly compatible with the utmost *Liberties* the *English* can boast ; but likewise, to oblige them, by all *Ways* and *Means*, to support and protect Us in the most extensive Enjoyment of our *Rights* and *Liberties*, as the sure and certain *Means* of preserving that *Spirit*, by which alone, We can be useful to *Britain*, and of preventing our falling off from her Interest, and relapsing into that *Desolation* and *Barbarism*, to which the Kingdom has been more than once reduced, by *Oppression* and *Tyranny*.

IN my *Eleventh Address*, published the 31st of *January*, I have endeavored to set the proper Estimate on Liberty ; to shew, by what *Means* some antient States have been robbed of this invaluable Blessing ; and with Reluctance, set forth the general Misconduct of those *English Men*, to whom the Government of this Kingdom was formerly committed.

I SHEW from the best Authority, that this Nation has not been better treated by some of the antient *English* Governors, than the *Peruvians*, or *Mexicans*, by the *Spaniards* : For, though by a positive and express CONTRACT, the Subjects of *Ireland*, whether Natives, or of foreign Extraction, were intitled to the same *Liberties*, *Privileges* and *Immunities*, and to be ruled by the same *Laws*, and under the same form of Government, with the Subjects of *England*, though the same

same *Measure* and *Bond* of *Prerogative* and *Allegiance* were established for ever between the King and People of both Nations ; though these *Compacts* and mutual Obligations were, on all sides most firmly and solemnly ratified ; and, though this new Establishment encouraged great Numbers of *English* and others to come and settle in this Kingdom, where they had all moral Assurance, that there would be no further Distinction made between *English* and *Irish* in the Realm, than had been between *Normans* and *English*, upon the Settlement of that Nation, under the *Norman* Invasion ; which must have long since united all Hands and Hearts in the Kingdom in one common Bond of Love and Allegiance under the same Head ; yet, under the specious Prospect of Liberty, by the Misconduct and Corruption of the Governors, the *Irish* in general were *decoyed* into *Slavery* and *Wretchedness*, not to be paralleled in History ; *robbed*, not only of their *promised Freedom*, but of their actual *Properties* and *Possessions*, nay of their *Lives*, without being able to obtain any degree of *Protection*, or *Benefit* from the established Laws ; of which I recite some most remarkable Instances, from *Records* quoted by the great Sir JOHN DAVIES.

By these it appears, that the ORIGINAL COMPACT was soon perfidiously broken ; that the native *Irish* were treated like *Slaves*, and *barbarous Enemies* to the Crown ; and that soon after, the *English-Irish* shared the like Fate. And all this, notwithstanding repeated Applications to the Government, to obtain being admitted to the common Benefits of the Laws. This necessarily prevented that happy Coalition of *English* and *Irish*, that was desirable to all wise and just Men ; drove many of the *former* back again to *England*, and others to join with the *later*, and in Detestation of the *English* Name and Nation, to run into all the Savage *Barbarisms* of the *Irish* ; which were never reformed, till their Liberties were fully restored.

ALL this, I mentioned to caution all other Governors against the like Abuses, as well, as against

those, which must probably produce the like Effects, I mean *the governing them by Laws made in England without their Consent* : For, there can be no essential Difference between forcibly *depriving* Men of the Benefits of the Established Laws of their Country, and *imposing* Laws upon them, *without their Consent*. Both procede from the same pernicious Principle, and tend to the same destructive Point, the *Suppression* and *Extinction* of LIBERTY, the VITAL FLAME of our glorious Constitution, and to the Introduction of *Anarchy, Slavery, Ignorance, and Barbarism*.

I HAVE shewn how inconsistent with every Principle of Justice, Law, Morality and good Policy it is, for the *English*, to run into these Measures, when the *Crown of England* never knew better Subjects, than the *Irish* in general have upon all Occasions, and in all Respects been found ; that no Regard is paid, by the *English* to the well known Maxim, *that no People were ever known to continue long brave, loyal, or virtuous, after they had been deprived of Liberty* ; that they bind Us by Laws made *without our Consent, or Knowledge* ; nay make Laws to curtail the Power of Our Parlements ! Of the chief of these Laws, I have given a short View ; and shewed, that it was obtained by the Influence of that abandoned *Parricide, Walpole*, whose infamous Administration has involved both Nations in much Distress.

THESE Matters are glanced at, to shew the Necessity of keeping up a constant, regular Succession of *sensible and watchful Members* in our *Parlements*, *able and ready, at all times*, to give just Opposition to such destructive Measures ; that, as We have nothing to ask of *Britain*, more, than *Mercy and Justice*, she can not be supposed so degenerate, upon laying these Grievances before her Councils, as to suffer them to continue longer in Force.

I THEREFORE, exhorted my Brethren, to remonstrate against these Incroachments upon our Constitution, in Duty to OUR SOVEREIGN, and in Regard to our mistaken Brethren and Fellow-Subjects ; since
every

every wound, they give our Constitution, is an indirect *Stab* to theirs ; and since *England* must eternally share, sooner or later, in the Adversity, as well, as Prosperity of *Ireland*.

I HAVE shewn, that *England's* expending her *Blood* and *Treasure* in reclaiming, or defending *Ireland*, is no Argument for *enslaving* her ; for, the *English* can not make Us *Slaves*, without becoming *Tyrants* themselves ; and that no People have so well paid *England* for her services to them, as *Ireland* has, or is likely to do.

I HAVE answered the Objections usually made against stirring up this Controversy, and shewn our Indispensable Duty to have Recourse to all legal Means of obtaining a Redress of our Grievances and a Restoration and Re-establishment of our Liberties ; and have expressed my Contempt and Disdain of all the Artifices, that may, by any Men, be used to prejudice me, and my Detestation, even of the Thoughts of representing any *People*, who dare not be *free*.

I DETECTED the Artifices used to prevent a free Election, and the Intentions of those, who use them. I set Marks, by which you may know the *Friends*, from the *Enemies* of your *Country* and your *City* ; and offered Means to vindicate and preserve my Character, among the many malevolent Attacks made upon me ; I have discovered the Cause of their implacable Enmity to me ; and shewn, that I am not disqualified for the Office of a Member of Parlemtent, by having no *Titule* of *Honor*, nor an *Estate*. I disclame all Influence and Application, even the requesting a Vote, or any Favor to be done me at the Election, but common Justice. I desire no more, than the Means of serving the Public, at extreme Hazard, Toil and Trouble to my self ; and promise the strictest *Fidelity* in *Service* ; upon finding the ELECTORS FREE and JUST MASTERS.

IN my *Twelfth Address*, which I published, on the 18th of *February*, I have endeavored to lay down the Power and Authority of *Parlements*, and of the Principal Subordinate Courts of *Justice*. I have briefly set

forth the *Institution, Office, and Duty*, with a Copy of the *Oath* of the several Judges of the Four Courts, that is, the *King's Bench, Common-Pleas, Exchequer, and Chancery*; then stated the Case of making *Appeals* from our Courts of *Equity*, to the *Lords of England*, and shewn the corrupt, iniquitous and perfidious Proceedings of the Judges of the Court of *Exchequer*, in the Case of *Sherlock and Annesley*.

I HAVE shewn the Injustice and the fatal Consequences of *England's* assuming a Judicative Power over a People, who have a SOVEREIGN JUDICATIVE and LEGISLATIVE POWER, within themselves; in the Instance of the Provinces of *Normandy, Poitou, &c.* and the particular evil Consequences attending Us, from the lately assumed *Supremacy* of the *British Peers*; as well, as the gross Absurdity and Inconsistency of their assuming a Power, which they have no lawful Authority, or Means to execute.

I HAVE laid open the shameful Measures, by which this extravagant Power was established; the Shock it has given our whole Frame of Government; the noble Remonstrance made by our *Peers* against this horrid Incroachment; the Insensibility of the then *temporising Commons*, who would not interfere in the Contest.

I HAVE shewn, that this is not the first Project laid by our *Judges* to over-turn our Constitution, and that it probably will not be the last, if Means be not found to make them *Independent*. I have given an Abstract of the honorable Judgment passed by the HOUSE OF LORDS on *Sherif BURROWS*, and of the Censure, on the then *Barons* of the *Exchequer*; and shewed the honorable Rewards given these base *Tools* and *Parricides*, by the *Ministry*; all which Evils might have been prevented by the timely Interposition of a *free, virtuous and powerful House* of COMMONS.

IN my *Thirteenth Address*, published the 1st of *March*, I have laid down the *Institution, Office and Duty* of *Grand and Petit Juries*; and shewed the great Happiness accruing to the Subject; from the Benefit of
Trials

*Trial*s by these *popular Judges*, the *JURIES*; and how far it is incumbent on all good Subjects, to preserve and exercise this Institution, upon all Occasions; and it is particularly recommended to our *GRAND JURIES* to have a watchful Eye on the Conduct of the *Judges*, in order to present and punish such, as transgress, or exceed the Law, or neglect, or refuse to put it duly in Execution,

I SHALL pass over my *Fourteenth Address*, published the 7th of *March*, as it is mostly a Matter of Controversy, against one of the *Candidates*, who has never replied; but, on the contrary, has so far altered that part of his Conduct, against which, my Exceptions were taken; that, with his former Services considered, he is certainly to be looked upon, as one of the most eligible Candidates.

IN my *Fiveteenth Address*, published the 16th of *March*, I take a more extended View of the *great Body Politic* of the Realm; and shew the Requisites for it's Preservation, and the Causes, that must bring about it's Decay and Dissolution. I have attempted to draw a just Pourtrait of the present *HEAD* of our *great Body Politic*, and of his great and memorable *PREDECESSOR*; and to assign a true Cause, why under such wise and good Princes, such and so many fatal Inroachments have been made upon our Constitution: I consider the Character and Qualification of the King's *Vice-gerents* in this Kingdom; and the Means, whereby We may judge, whether or no they have been, or may hereafter be, in all Respects, qualified for the high and important Office of *HEAD* of this *Body Politic*; the Benefits that accrue to the State from a *wise* and *just* Governor, and the Evils, from a *weak*, or *corrupt Vice-roy*; how far the *Purity* and *Virtue* of the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal*, depend upon the *Sense* and *Virtue* of the *chief Governor*, and those upon the *British Ministry*; and how the one is discoverable by the other; the Distemperature to be induced on the *Body Politic* by a *wicked* Lord Lieutenant, and how discoverable. I have weighed the Objections against

this Drawing, and answered them; given Instances of corrupt *Lieutenants*, and the fatal Consequences of their iniquitous Administrations; I have recited, examined and exposed that most unjust and Anticonstitutional Act, called, *Poyning's Law*, and shewn, that it wants all the Requisites of a just and constitutional Law. I have considered, what Parlements We have had, under such *Lieutenants* as this; and it appears, they were ignorant, or corrupt, perhaps both. These Considerations, shew, that these *Breaches*, made by, or under such Governors, can be repaired, or the Remnant of our Constitutional *Rights* and *Privileges*, which We are still permitted to possess, may be hoped to be preserved, by Committing the Constitution to the care of Men of the most extensive good Sense, and the most approved Virtue and public Spirit.

I HAVE laid down the distinguishing Marks, by which We may always be able to determine, how far our *Commons* may be in an *healthy*, or *distempered State*; and shewed the Evils to be dreaded from the Subversion of the *Freedom* of the *Elections* of the *Commons*; and the Marks, by which We may judge whether our *Judges* and *Sheriffs* act agreeable to the Ends of their respective Institutions. I have pointed out the general Distempers of the *Body Politic*, and the *Method of Cure*, which is by FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS.

I MUST pass over my *Sixteenth Address*, published the 23d of *March*, being mostly an Answer to a Paper, said to be published and given *Gratis* by Sir *Samuel Cook*, Bart. Alderman, and one of the present *Candidates*, as neither that Worshipful Gentleman, nor any of his many worthy *Scribes*, has thought fit to make any public Reply. I concluded this Paper with a general and final Declaration of my Sentiments and Principles, with Regard to the Election.

I ENVY none of the *Candidates* their natural or acquired Superiority. I solicit the Citizens to and for their own Freedom, not for any Favors, or Benefits to me. I exhort You to elect upon true Principles, and declare

declare my Detestation of a Seat, obtained in Parliament, by any other Measures. I declare my Circumstances, and submit my Qualification for your Service, to your Judgment. I urge You to avoid all Tendencies to running into *Parties*, or *Factions*.

I HAVE taken the Liberty to make this Recapitulation of my severai Addresses to You, MY BRETHREN and FRIENDS, that you may take a Summary View of the Subject; as well to refresh Your Memories, as to the Matter in general, as to give You means to judge of my Character, and Conduct in the whole Affair. I beg You will closely consider the Tenor of all these Papers; since, if common Fame speaks Truth, You are shortly to see me brought to a Trial for my Assertions in these Papers, as well, as for my *Dedication* of our *Charter*, to his MAJESTY. Of this also I must beg You will take with me a Cursory Review.

IN MY ADDRESS to the LORDS JUSTICES, prefixed to my *Dedication*, I set forth the Necessity, that urged me to address his MAJESTY; the *Right* of the *Subject*, in addressing the Throne, and what is to be expected, in such an Instance, from the Representatives of our SOVEREIGN; that with this Assurance, and upon these Principles, I now, most humbly lay my Clame to this Right and Privilege; that the only means of making the Subject insensible of their unhappy Remoteness from the King, is by fully discharging the Trust reposed in his Representatives, in order to make the KING's Absence, as imperceptible, as possible. I confess my self assured, that their EXCELLENCIES will discharge the GREAT TRUST in them reposed; which is no less, than to Support and maintain the Constitution of the Kingdom, in all Points, agreeable to the OFFICE and DUTY of the SOVEREIGN and to the Rights and Privileges of the Subject; by causing the LAW, with EQUITY and JUSTICE, MERCY, and LIBERTY, to be equally dispensed to all parts of the Constitution, to every individual Member of the Community, without Distinction, without Interruption, which must make a particular Demand from me, at this time, unnecessary.

But,

But, as no Public Address, or Remonstrance from this Kingdom can consistently, be presented to the KING through any other hands, than those of his LORDS JUSTICES, it is hoped they will forward the *Dedication* and *Charter* to the King.

I HAVE added but one Request of a private Nature, which is, begging their EXCELLENCIES to accept, each, of a Copy, which I presented with all Dutiful Respect and Humility, at his MAJESTY'S *Castle*, in this City on the 11th Day of *June*, 1749.

IN my *Dedication* to the KING, I accost MY SOVEREIGN, with all imaginable *Duty*, *Allegiance* and *Love*. I declare my Motives to be far from common, or lucrative Views; that the Purity of mine Intentions and the pressing Emergency can make the best Apology for an illiterate and obscure Citizen's thus addressing his SOVEREIGN. I set forth the Solemn Obligation under which every Subject lies, to disclose all *Treasons*, *Conspiracies* and *Machinations* against the *Person*, *Crown*, or *Dignity* of the KING; and that from a Sense of this Privilege, and the Duty of a Subject, I adventure, with all Respect and Humility to approach his MAJESTY. I shew, that my principal View in this Attempt, is to contribute to the Glory of his Reign, by securing the Happiness of his Subjects, which is the End of the Institution of this and of every wise and free Government.

I SHEW the difference between the Office of the King of these Realms, and that of *despotic Monarchs*; and acknowledge the Wisdom, Justice, fatherly Care, and general good Intentions of his Majesty, to fulfil the Duties of his Station agreeable to the Principles of our Policy and the ORIGINAL and MUTUAL COMPACT between the PRINCE and PEOPLE. I profess, that these Considerations make it the Interest and Duty of every Subject, of every good Man to perpetuate the Blessings of such a Reign, to latest Posterity; which I conceive to be best effected by informing his Majesty of all things, that nearly concern the *safety*, *Honor*, *Power* and *Interest* of his *Person*, *Crown* and *Family*.

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I SET forth the Misfortunes and Difficulties, under which Kings Labor, for want of such faithful Informations, and the uses and Advantages, that must accrue from informing his MAJESTY, how the Subordinate Administration is carried on.

I DECLARE, that I procede upon these pure Principles and just Motives, and humbly hope it will be accounted no unpardonable Presumption; as it is done with all imaginable Respect, Duty and Affection; that I thus approach the Throne, to lay the Charter of this *Metropolis* at the ROYAL FOUNDER's feet; and my Intention in transcribing, translating and publishing this Charter.

I SHEW, that by DIVINE PERMISSION and the *Suffrages* of a FREE PEOPLE, the King is SUPREME HEAD of the GREAT BODY POLITIC, of which I have the Honor and Happiness of being a *Member*; The Wisdom and Excellency of the Structure; the near Relation between the KING and the SUBJECT, so evident, that the ONE can not subsist, without the OTHER; That, as the *Head* is supposed furnished with Means to support and defend the *inferior Members*, so every *Member* should timely inform the *Head*, of every Annoyance given or threatened to the *inferior Parts*.

I DECLARE mine Intentions and my Desire to fulfil this important part of the Duty of the Subject, from pure Regard to the Constitution and to his Majesty; but, confess my Insufficiency and Incapacity for the arduous undertaking; and that my Sphere has confined me to the Affairs of this City, chiefly. But, in order to give his MAJESTY an adequate Notion of the Grounds of our Complaints, I beg leave to offer to his View, a general, but concise sketch of the State of the Nation.

I SET forth the peculiar hard fate of this poor Kingdom, in neither having seen, nor been seen by, her King for many Years; but, being left to the Rule of *English Vice-Roys*, mostly *Strangers*, and often *Enemies* to the People and Constitution of *Ireland*, which makes it probable, that a true State of the Case of this
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long rejected and despised Kingdom, has not yet reached the KING's Ears; and presume, that a true Narrative of this Kind may not be unacceptable.

I GIVE a slight Description of the natural State of this Island, of it's antient Condition; of the Loss of their Liberty and Learning; of their Affinity to *Britain*; of it's being a Kingdom of greater Antiquity and Dignity, than *England*; of it's antient Division into^a a *Pentarchy*; of it's being reduced to a *Monarchy*, under the King of *England*, in the Year 1172. by a FREE and VOLUNTARY COMPACT entered into between that King, for himself and his *Successors*; and the *Potestates* and *People*, for *them* and *their Successors*; by which it was constituted a *complete, new KINGDOM*, as absolutely, as necessarily FREE and INDEPENDENT of the *Legislature*, as *separate* and *distinct* from the Land of *England*; but, upon the same Model and Principles of Policy, under the same *common Head*, and the like System of Laws, and general Form of Government; evident by the establishing and holding FREE PARLEMENTS here, as in *England*, which encouraged the *English* to come and settle in this *new, FREE KINGDOM*.

I HAVE shewn the Manner, by which the two Kingdoms were separated and put under different *Princes*, and again restored under one and the same *Prince*, and united in the same Interest; but, subject to as different *Legislatures*, as ever, and the happy Consequences of such an Harmony and good Understanding between the two Kingdoms.

I HAVE shewn, that King *Henry III.* gave *Ireland* a GREAT CHARTER of LIBERTIES, nine Years before he granted that to the *English*, which is printed in their Statutes, and seems to be but a Copy of this; and that all the Laws of *England*, relating to the Constitution, from the Foundation of that Government to the Reign of *Henry VIII.* are by equal Authority established, as the Laws of *Ireland*; and have instanced several subsequent Statutes, to *Poyning's Act*, which acknowledge and establish the Principles for which I contend; that *Ireland* is a *Kingdom*, annexed and sub-

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ject to the *Crown*, but *not to the Legislature*, of *England*; that his MAJESTY is King of *Ireland*, as much, and by the same Authority, as he is King of *Great-Britain*, or *Electors of Hanover*; and that our *Alliance* is due to him, as *King of Ireland* only.

THEN I cursorily glance at the Breaches made in this great and wise Constitution, and the Consequences felt and to be hereafter dreaded thereby; and point out the only effectual Means, whereby a wicked Ministry may over-turn our happy Establishment, by *packing*, or *corrupting* Parlements; the fatal Consequences of the Parlements of these Kingdoms being, formerly, such: I set forth the particular Instances of the *Oppressive, Iniquitous Incroachments* made by the Parlement of *Britain* upon Us, and the *passive, pusillanimous, pernicious, perfidious, tacit Concessions* formerly made by our Parlement; and shew, that both thus conspired to rob his MAJESTY of the most valuable Jewel in his *Irish Crown*, the highest, most inestimable and most sacred of all his ROYAL PREROGATIVES in this Kingdom; His SOVEREIGN *Power, Authority* and *Supreme Jurisdiction* in his most HIGH COURT of PARLEMENT; and the evil Consequences of the horrid Incroachment, not only to the *Prince and Parlement*, but to the *People of Ireland* in general; which I have judged, no *loyal Subject*, no *honest Man* could behold, without *Anxiety, Indignation* and *Horror*. And having thus far, explained the national Grievances, upon the Principles and Motives, with which I set out, I declare my self ready to procede to further Particulars, whenever I shall be honored with his MAJESTY's Countenance; and so have gone on to the melancholy Affairs of the City; the Reflections upon which I must beg Leave to post-pone to some other Opportunity.

Now, YOU SONS OF LIBERTY, JUST and RIGHTEOUS JUDGES, look narrowly into these my Proceedings, and try my Conduct by the Rules of Law and Justice, not by the malevolent Misrepresentations of designing Men. Consider whether it was not proper and necessary to trace out to You, and to lay before

fore OUR SOVEREIGN, a true State of our civil Constitution ; and by pointing out Instances of Oppression and bad Government, with their evil Consequences, to amend our Conduct and prevent such Lapses for the future, by former Examples.

I AM told, from divers Quarters, “ *That I had better have let the Affairs of the Nation alone ; that touching upon them has stirred many powerful Enemies against me.* ”—If it be become criminal to speak freely and truly on the Constitution and Government of our Country with all Deference, and Respect and Duty to the SUPREME MAGISTRATE, let me be condemned and suffer Death ; for, whenever the asserting TRUTH and the *Principles* of LIBERTY begets *Enemies*, or the sacrificing them creates *Friends* ; Life must prove a Burden too heavy for me to bear, and I shall thank the Hand that disburdens me. Does any Man imagine, that I have been at all the Pains I have taken in this Matter to seek for any private Favor or Advantage to my self ? If he does, he greatly injures me, not knowing mine Intention : Life, with all the gawdy Pomp and Splendor of the World, can have no Charm for me, can not even be tolerable to me, without LIBERTY. Nor am I so Selfish, as to contend for this Blessing for my self alone, in any Instance ; for, I do, and shall always enjoy it fully, while I live, in spite to all it's Enemies ; but, my Struggles are to make it Universal ; that all the Subjects may equally and fully possess and enjoy the *invaluable* LIBERTIES, their wise and virtuous *Ancestors* nobly greatly provided and secured for them and their Posterity, to the utmost Extent. Am I for this, to be deemed a *Criminal* ? an *Enemy* to my KING and COUNTRY ? Or, are they not truly such, who made the Incroachments of which I complain, and now, in any Measure, oppose all just Means of exposing them, and of obtaining a Redress of Grievances ?

I KNOW the prevailing Artifice now is to intimidate the Populace with denouncing terrible Threats and Vengeance against me. One Day, you are told, I am to be *attashed*, another *indicted*, the third *impeach-*

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ed. The next You hear, I am to be *loaded* with *Irons in Goal, transmitted to England, tried by a Middlesex Jury, hanged and quartered, at Tyburn.* This is all easily said; but, give me Leave to ask for what it is to be done? Is this to be done without just Cause? Without just Process of Law? without a *Trial by Juries?*—There is a shorter way of getting shut of me, which the ingenious *Surgeon* in *Cork*, judiciously points out, plane, easy *Murder, or Assassination.* If I have broke the Law, I am sorry for it; and, though my Enemies must confess, that if I have transgressed, it was not Intentionally, yet I am ready and willing to suffer, with Patience and Resignation, the utmost Rigor the Law inflicts. Death can have nothing terrible to the Man, whose whole Life is one continued Scene of incessant Toil, Trouble, Care and Anxiety, and who is unwearied in answering the Ends of his Creation, religiously discharging his Duty to his Neighbour, to himself, to his King, to his Country, to his God; Death to such a Man is but an easy Transition from a transitory Life of Pain and Trouble, to an eternal one of endless and inexpressible Felicity.

THE Gentleman who utters unanswerable Invectives and Scurrility against me, under the Name of *Anthony Litten, Surgeon of Cork*, should pass as unnoticed by me, as any other of the low and infamous Class in which he ranks himself, did he not make some false Insinuations so artfully, that they are made a handle by mine Enemies, by which some of mine unwary Friends have been made uneasy.

THIS Gentleman's Charges of *Falschood, Malice, general Wickedness, Disaffection, Sedition, Treason, and Rebellion* perish, as they fall from his malevolent Lips or Pen, unaffecting any Man, but himself. But, when he artfully insinuates, "That I am endeavoring to alienate the Affections of *England* from *Ireland*, and setting up this Kingdom, as a Government, separate and distinct from, and totally independent of the *Crown of England*," it is a matter too Serious to be passed over in Silence.

LET me ask this furious Gentleman, whether the
English

English will be most likely to conceive an Aversion to Us, for asserting our natural and legal *Freedom* and *Rights*, like true *Descendants* of *Briton*, *Sons of Liberty*, or for giving them up tamely and tacitly, like *degenerate Mungrels*, *Bondsmen* and *Vassals*? Was it not our Sense of *Freedom* and true Religion, that, at all times, recommended Us to their Care, and made them receive and protect Us with open Arms, when We have been oppressed and Persecuted by the blind Zeal and fury of bigotted *Tyrants*? Did not the same Motive make the *English* often extend their Benevolence and Beneficence to *Swiss*, *Palatines*, *French*, *Portuguese* and *Dutch*? And have We not reason to judge, to hope, that the same just Principles will always prevail in *Great Britain*? If they do not, what can their Friendship or Love avail Us? Can any Man pretend to be a Friend to *England*, and insinuate, that they would have their *Descendents*, their *Neighbours* and their *Friends* reduced to *Slavery*?

THEN examine my Writings and my Conversation, and see if You can find, that I ever glanced at a thought of making *Ireland* a Dominion free and independent of the *Crown* of *England*? Have I not often shewn You, that it is our Glory and Happiness, that the same Crown binds and adorns the Temples of the King of *England* and the King of *Ireland*? that this Kingdom is, and ever must be, as *dependent* upon the King of *Great Britain*, as that Kingdom is and must be? That if the Election of a King for this Realm and a Form of Government were left to my Option or framing, I should choose the present King and System? This You must all know and confess to be true, and that I demanded no more, than paying due Obedience to the Laws of our Country, which makes Us *not independent* of the King of *Great Britain*, but absolutely free of all *Legislatures*, but our own; that is, frees Us from Subjection to all Laws, but such as have been, or shall be made and established by the *free Suffrages* of the PEOPLE, in their only just and lawful *Representatives*, The KING, or his *Vice-gerent*, and the LORDS and COMMONS of the Realm, in Parlemtent Assembled. Let mine Enemies contradict this, and charge me with

with having said or intended otherwise; if they can If this be *Treason*, *Disaffection*, or *Disloyalty*; it is high time to cut me off. I am and always shall be prepared. I scorn to ask Mercy, or any other Favor from *Slaves*, or *Tyrants*. But, if it were possible, that they that utter these cruel, lawless and inhuman Threats, could have any Regard to their Country, or to themselves, I would, in Regard to that and them, however they may hate and oppose me; advise them, not to stretch their Power beyond the *Limits* of the *Law*; because, by such Excesses, they make *Precedents*, and expose their Country and themselves to the same lawless Force from other Hands. As for me, I fear not the worst their unhallowed Hands can do to me. If they put me into *Prison*, I shall enjoy better Company there, even *alone*, than the Enemies of my Country can have in their *gorgeous Palaces*: If they put me to the *Rack*; I am used to vast Variety of Pain, and shall not only deride my *Tormentors*; but feel a calm Joy in my Soul, which *Slaves* and *Tyrants* can never taste, or conceive. And, if they put me to *Death*, even in that, they must still make me *triumphant*; for they can only hasten, through the Mercies of OUR GREAT REDEEMER, this *Corruptible* to put on INCORRUPTION, this *Mortal* to put on IMMORTALITY. Thus, let the *unrighteous* rage as they will, they, in the end, can do no more, than forward the JUST in his Course to the wished-for Goal.

THOUGH I stand thus utterly regardless of the Threats of *Tyrants*, with respect to mine own Person, yet I still feel such anxious Pain for the present and future Distresses of my Country, as almost prompts me, in spight to my Religion, to say, with the great *Roman* CITIZEN, "*what Pity it is I can die but once for my Country!*" Let my Fate be what it will, You must, by a zealous Perseverance, obtain a Restoration of Your Rights and Liberties; otherwise, it would, if possible, give some *Allay* to the Joys of Heaven, to find, that you were not allowed to recover and preserve those *Rights* and *Liberties*, which are your just and lawful BIRTH-RIGHT. That You, MY EVER TO BE HONORED FELLOW-CITIZENS, who have, in so

many and great Instances, most eminently proved your Loyalty, and during the present Vacancy of your Seats in Parleмент, have manifested such a Spirit of Liberty against the utmost Force and subtilest Machinations of your most powerful Enemies, as has not appeared in any City in *Europe*, within the Memory of Man; that You, I say, MY FRIENDS, should, by *Fraud*, or *Force*, be foiled in your great and noble Attempt to *free* your-selves from the long-borne Yoke of *Bondage*, and to *elect* and *return* upon the true Principles of your Policy, fit Men to serve and represent You truly and faithfully in Parleмент, would Shock me, worse than Death.

BUT, I am comforted at the Thought, that all this and much more, tending to the Restoration of your *Freedom* and *Rights*, is unquestionably within your own Power: You and You only are the Judges, who are and who are not capable and qualified to represent You in Parleмент. And, further than informing your Judgements for making a just Choice, it is *Impudence*, it is *Tyranny*, in any Man, or Body of Men to interfere in *your Election* of *your Members*. But, when You have made your Return, then the House of COMMONS is the *Supreme Court*, in which the Legality, or Validity of your Election is to be tried.

ON what then, are the Hopes of your Adversaries' success against You founded? They now lye in wait to avail themselves of *Riots* and *Tumults*, and perhaps, of calling a *standing Army*, as in the Case of *Tucker* and *Fownes*, &c. when the *Citizens*, in *their Tholsel*, were put to *military Execution*; or some such like infernal Stratagems.

WOULD YOU, MY DEAREST FRIENDS, have a Restoration of your lost Rights and Privileges? You must then, be quiet and peaceable, and make your Approaches against the *Enemy*, under the *Cover*, under the *Protection* of the LAW. Let them not be able to say, *that the Friends of Liberty broke the Peace*, however provoked to it. Let the *Aldermen* have no Advantages to take from *Shocks* or *Convulsions* in the *State*, or in the *City*; let them have no more *troubled Waters* to fish in; let them have no Grounds of Com-
p'aint

plaint in the Election, and their Dominion must soon have a Period. Would You have your Members chosen out of the FRIENDS of LIBERTY, that have toiled and labored and contended more for the Honor and Interest of the Public, than for their own? Or would You choose *Representatives* for the Board of *Aldermen*, and appoint those for your *Counsellors* and *Guardians*, who have already *plundered* and *robbed* You of almost every essential *Right* and *Privilege* of FREE-MEN; except your *Votes* upon this Occasion, and have had Recourse to *Fraud* and *Force* to extort them?

THE *Former*, on whom alone, the Choice of every generous, of every loyal, of every free, of every virtuous Citizen must fall, can only hope to succeed by the Measures, they have always taken, and recommended, and by your preserving strict Regularity and Decorum in all your public Conduct; by your giving your Voices freely and regularly, at the Election; and giving no Umbrage to those, who differ from You in Opinion, and voting, whether *Candidates*, or *Electors*. You must secure the *Creatures* of your *Antagonists*, as well, as your selves, FREEDOM and EASE and SAFETY in voting. And You must suffer *no Strife*, *no Jealousy* to arise at the Time of polling. Throw not the least Reflection upon any *Aldermen*, or upon any of the unhappy Gang of *hired Slaves*, or *mistaken*, or *unwary Men*, that follow them. You will have time enough to set a Mark upon them, after the Election; for, You shall have a List of them, in the *Poll*, fairly printed every Day, that You and Posterity may see who voted for the *Creatures*, or *Representatives* of the *Board*, who run in with the *Faction* in Power, and strove to confirm their *Oppression*, their *Usurpation*, their *Tyranny*, under the shameful Influence of *higher Tyrants*, of *State Placemen* and *Pensioners*;—And who dared answer the calls of LIBERTY and TRUE RELIGION, and give their Votes, not as their private Interests, Affections or Prejudices prompted, but as a true and firm Regard to the Honor, and Dignity of the Crown, the Safety and Welfare of the Realm, in general, and the Freedom and Happiness of this City, in particular, not only for the Present, but for the Future, must have directed and demanded.

ALL

ALL these public Emoluments must specially depend upon the FREEDOM of ELECTIONS, in general, of that of this City, in particular. Therefore, to contribute to the obtaining, not only a FREE, but a PEACEABLE ELECTION, is the Interest and Duty of every Citizen, of every Subject, of whatever Denomination; whether of Ireland, or Great Britain. For, all are more immediately, or remotely interested, and will no doubt, interest themselves, in the Restoration, as well, as Preservation of our FREEDOM and RIGHTS. For this, and this alone, I contend. Be not shaken or dismayed, by any Threats uttered against me; nor by any untowardly Fate that may attend me. I have asserted incontestible Facts, upon the unerring Principles of TRUTH and LIBERTY. I have led You to the Paths of PEACE, of VIRTUE, of LIBERTY. If I have not completely effected all this desirable Good, mine Enemies must confess, it was, it is and shall be the sum and substance of mine Intentions. Perhaps I have in some Points mistaken the Means; or, been misinformed in some trivial Instances.—You are to take nothing upon Trust. In order to be FREE, You must banish *implicit Faith*, with *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance*. Try all things strictly, by the Balance of Truth and Justice; then You will be able to discern and to holdfast that, which is GOOD; which will answer all the Ends and Purposes of the Toils and Labors, and fully recompense all the utmost Perils, Pains and worldly Sufferings of him, who wishes to live, and dares to die, for LIBERTY and her SACRED FRIENDS.

FAREWELL! MY BROTHERS, and let me conjure You, to believe me, that whether living or dying, I am and ever shall be,

With the utmost Sincerity,

true Respect,

unfeigned Love,

and boundless Gratitude,

Yours,



DUBLIN, Sept. 25th,
1749.

C. Lucas.